1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF15 East China
~~AF15~~ AF15

178 ideal helped to preserve the stability of the total social order of China, the disintegration of the traditional family system and the abolition of the imperial examination system for recruiting the ruling elite became contributing factors to the dislocation of the traditional social structure.

There was no change in the social composition of the rural population in the past several decades. As of old, the village community consisted of farm laborers at the bottom and landlords at the top. Peasant landowners and tenants constituted the bulk of the village population; and village peddlers, merchants, and artisans were members of peasant families, most of whom owned land; the village gentry, that is to say the local leaders, were mostly retired officials or educated members of landlords' or rich peasants' families.[10]

178 369 However, the growth of rural population without a comparable increase in arable land, plus the increasing number of opportunities for employment in the cities, caused the migration of some peasants to the urban centers. The continued high premium placed on learning

10. Olga Lang, Chinese Family and Society, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1946, p. 68.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF15 East China
AF15

178
369
practical and otherwise, inducted the wealthier rural inhabitants to send their children to modern city schools which offered new opportunities. Thus, the cities became the centers from which the forces of changed radiated into the surrounding countryside.

Some of the rural immigrants became permanent residents in the cities; others returned to their home villages. Among the permanent residents, some left their families in the country while others brought their immediate families (wives and children) to the cities. In either case, it meant the breaking up of family and clan relations. Industrial work and other city employment changed the outlook of these rural people; new professions such as modern medicine, law, engineering, and banking attracted the attention of those who would otherwise have been occupied in the study of the Confucian Classics. This was especially true after Confucian training had been condemned as impractical and not in keeping with the conditions of modern life

87
178
Education in the secondary schools and colleges, however inadequate and artificial it might seem, was designed for better

527 played on the bridegroom, traditional songs were sung and the guests, particularly the men, thoroughly enjoyed themselves. The births of male children were often celebrated as were the betrothals. and the like. In modern times the government of the Republic of China decreed certain national holidays but these were little observed by the farm villages.

217 In addition to these occasions for relaxation, there were activities which interested some of the villagers and helped to vary their lives. Itinerant dramatic troupes occasionally performed. and until very recently the storyteller spinning out his tales to the villagers was often seen. The election of a headman for the village often involved political maneuvering and a town meeting. Pilgrimages to famous mountains or shrines were often undertaken in the slack agricultural season for religious reasons or purely for relaxation. Perhaps the most universal recreation was as in all illiterate communities gossip and desultory conversation about the weather, the crops. the iniquity of the government local disputes. and on their rare occurrence, lawsuits involving
156 fellow villagers. Despite the grim struggle for survival the average villager tended to be cheerful, self-respecting with a robust sense of humor. He went through life with a continuous concern for his own "face" or prestige among his fellows and with the strong determination that, despite all, the fortunes of his family might steadily improve

B. The Pattern of Urban Life

• 369 Urban life, although it meant a different pattern of work, was closely akin to life in the

369 villages. Town and citydwellers -- perhaps 20% of China's population -- kept their ties with their native villages. returned there whenever possible and many saw commercial activity in the town only as means to the acquisition of sufficient wealth to buy farming land and return to the village.[11] The town population, then. was mostly made up of artisans and peasants plus a small number of landlords retired officials county functionaries and established merchant families. The county seats (hsien capitals) were the centers for tax collection and administration of the surrounding farm-villages and also served as market towns where the peasant might sell his crop and purchase the manufactured goods he could not produce.

[162] [634]

369 511 Town life for the average artisan was as meager as that of his relatives in the village. Long hours hard work low pay. few holidays were the lot of most and living conditions were generally poorer and more crowded than those in the villages. Proprietors of many shops required their employees to live on the premises so that they seldom visited their families. The diet of the town dweller was as poor as that of the poor farmer -- mostly cereals vegetables, and some condiments and meat and fruit on holidays only. Brief holidays were allowed at the New Year the Ch'ing-ming festival. the mid-Autumn festival, and the Dragon Boat festival. On these occasions, townspeople usually tried to return to their villages; if this was impossible they enjoyed such delicacies as they could afford and strolled the streets, perhaps

[466] [262] 369 527

11. Cf. Cressey. Land of the 500 Million, pp. 18-19. The 1953 Communist census credits cities and towns (undefined) with 13.26% of the Mainland population. Ibid., p. 18. [p.216]

1:Stanford U. S-4 5 1956 AF 15 East China
AF15

369
527 visiting friends and attending seasonal fairs and theaters.

369 Life in the towns was then closely linked with village life. But in the provincial capitals such as Tsinan, Nanking, and Foochow, life in some respects has been greatly altered by the modernization that spread from the coastal to the inland cities. The streets are paved and schools, newspapers, motion pictures, and radio make the people more aware of the outside world than are their cousins in the towns and villages. In Shanghai and other modern cities major industries built large dormitories for workers labor unions and political clubs developed as new foci for social activity. Yet the living conditions grew worse as workers moved into the cities. Crowding reached unbelievable proportions. The only comparable figures are for Chengtu, a city outside the East China area, but they suggest the dimensions of this problem in all urban centers. Chengtu, with predominantly one-storied buildings, had a population density of 50,000 per square mile, as compared with 28,500 per square mile in New York City.[12]
[466] One survey suggests that workers in the newer industries were somewhat better off than workers in the traditional trades,[13] but their traditional holidays were shortened without in most cases
527 the introduction of a six-day week. In the crowded
369 cities the festivals of the agricultural year continued to determine the holidays -- although

12. Winfield op. cit. p. 88. These figures would seem to be for the period 1945-47.

13. Lang op. cit., pp. 88-89.

national holidays were increasingly observed -- and like the town dwellers city workers tried to return to their family villages for at least one of the holidays. Another link to one's native place was the system of clubs composed of those city-dwellers who had a common provincial origin; the clubs operated hostels and sometimes arrangements for mutual-aid. Secret societies provided another focus of social life, particularly in the towns and cities. Their rituals passports and secret signs of greeting were all subordinate to their basic aim, which was to provide members with security-through assosi ation with an insurance against the hazards of a disintegrating and increasingly predatory society.

It will be noted that the ties of kinship and custom were strong even between the large modern cities and the farm villages. The ways of life tended increasingly to diverge yet one of the strongest cohesive forces of all was the common set of attitudes and values which even when change has been accounted for held together all Chinese of village and town and city.

II. THE INFLUENCE OF COMMUNISM

In discussing Communist efforts to alter the Chinese way of life, it should be stressed that our material is unsatisfactory. Statistics, declarations, news releases -- all give few realistic details of life in the villages under Communist domination, andmost refugees from Communist China have come from the cities.

First of all, the farmer's annual routine is basically unchanged. Pilot collectives are in

668 517 369 Yet the villagers' way of life has been greatly altered by the intervention of the government, through the cadres, in all social, economic and political activities. The pressure to conform, at least outwardly. is formidable. Self-chosen leisure-time activities are few, meetings occupy a great deal of time and attendance at harangues by Party cadres, entertainment furnished by traveling theatrical groups (all with their ideological message) take up more of his leisure. The slack winter season may now find him in winter school or involved in a community work project directed by the local cadre.

668 369 Settlement of accounts before the New Year holiday means payment of taxes and the sale to the government of most of the balance of the farmer's grain. for which he receives coupons. The cadres carry this out at the village level.[21] The New Year festival itself is characterized by some traditional activities, modified by some new features to help promote government aims. The peasant may buy New Year's pictures to decorate his house, but they will probably be romanticized portraits of Mao and other Communist heroes rather than the colorful deities of former days.[22] He may decorate his gate with paired mottoes but the mottoes will no longer carry the old

21. SCMP 979, Feb. 2, 1955, p. 30.
22. Enlightenment Daily, Jan. 23. 1955, p. 2.

668 369 wishes for long life, happines, and wealth, but exhortations to conform to Communist standards.[23] The government may allow some additional foods for the season, but gambling is forbidden, and social life has been so thoroughly organized that it can be no longer restricted entirely to family and friends. The peasants have been urged to organize their own dramatic troupes to play the approved repertoire. Traveling troupes brought dramas to the villages, and 1500 film projecting teams moved into the countryside. The cadres organized "cultural lectures" for the rural groups. The old exchange of visits with relatives in near-by towns now has its Communist counterpart: interchange of visits between urban and rural workers' groups to observe one another's "progress in Communist reconstruction."[24]

668 369 788 The seasonal pilgrimage, in company, to some famous shrine also has its Communist counterpart: mass pilgrimages to Mao Tse-tung's native villages, which is being publicized as a national shrine.[25] Despite its frontal attack on the old familism, the Communist government last year provided special trains to take city dwellers back to their native villages for the holiday; a mass exodus was reported from Peking.[26]

668 527 Ch'ing-ming is no longer an approved festival, presumably because of its function as a celebration of kinship ties and family continuity. The next approved traditional holiday is the Dragon Boat festival in June. The boat races

23. Cf. collection of mottoes in Hua-nan t'ung-shu [South China Almanac] Canton, 1953, p. 32.
24. Enlightenment Daily, Jan. 23 1955, p. 2.
25. Ibid. 26. Ibid., Also, SCMP972, 1954 p. 21.

1: Stanford U. S-4. 5 1956 AF 15 East China
AF 15

668 to use the New Year holiday to plan their work for
565 the year to come.

The bulk of the old middle class may have survived, but its activities have been increasingly restricted by government controls and by the growth of government-producing and marketing facilities. They are a tough and tenacious group, but their old comfortable life is already threatened and, as a class, they are scheduled for extinction.[34]

369 The growing cities now appear to be replacing the country as the goal of the ambitious. It is likely that, as urbanization and industrialization proceed, the cities rather than the farm villages will determine as the Communists plan, the new mores and patterns of living for society as a whole.

---

34. Rostow, op. cit., pp. 162-64.

2: Murphy G-4 (no date) 1953 AF15 East China AF15

361 position on the coast of east Asia, and the great extent of its trade
439 hinterland. With a similar delta agrarian setting for all of these
177 cities, Shanghai is nearly twice as large as any of them because the trade of half, and that half the richer one, of the most populous political unit in the world is funneled through the city by the pattern of inland waterways and sea routes which focuses on it. In the pre-industrial economy of China, water transport is by far the most important volume carrier. While China remained agrarian, the stimulation of its external trade by foreign commercial enterprise produced an interregional flow of goods which moved largely through Shanghai. This situation continued to implement the physical advantages of the city's location to make it the major point of contact between China and the West.

369 Modern Chinese banking and finance, manufacturing, and com-
177 mercial organization (and the new class of Chinese associated with them and divorced from traditional China) all got their start there, are still largely concentrated there, and for the last hundred years have spread out from there as from the center of a whirlpool. Of the whole process of Westernization in China, only railways came relatively late to Shanghai, a logical exception in view of the abundance of good water transport. Otherwise the city rapidly became, within the first decade of its opening to foreign trade, a physical and economic replica of the nineteenth-century Europe which had built it, and in time of the twentieth-century America which was also a prominent contributor.

Shanghai and the pattern of its development during the past century have been modern China in microcosm. In the city China for the first time learned and absorbed the lessons of extraterritoriality, gun-boat diplomacy, foreign "concessions," and the aggressive spirit of nineteenth century Europe. There more than anywhere else the two civilizations came together: the rational, legal-minded, scientific, industrialized, efficient, expansionist West, and traditional, intuitive, humanist, agrarian, inefficient, seclusionist China. The sequel, and China's response, began primarily at Shanghai, and there modern China was born.

China's economic revolution, as fully as Chinese nationalism, struck its first modern roots beside the Whangpoo, and these two

2: Murphy G-4 (no date) 1953 AF15 East China AF15

369
177

have between them made the contemporary picture. Economically, the institutions, and still more the attitude and standard of values, which had grown up in the West with the end of the Middle Ages and reached a full flowering in the nineteenth century, were transplanted to Shanghai. As the city grew on this heady but nourishing diet, its growth set widening patterns of change in motion throughout the country. In the economic structure which developed at Shanghai, in the problems which economic development had to overcome, in the compromises and hybrid growths which arose, in the final maturing of a modern commercial, financial, and industrial metropolis, the city provides a key to what has since happened and is still to happen in China.

The events of the post-war years have thrown into relief the economic and political changes which have long been under way in China, but which have only recently made themselves violently apparent. Communism is merely the present vehicle, not the creator, of the revolution which has carried it to success. As a leading agent in modern China's revolution, Shanghai may claim a larger share than Moscow in the current product. War, civil war, and Communist victory have also ended the history of foreign Shanghai. The hundred years of its existence being ended, a larger perspective tends to emphasize the things about the city's development which seem most important in the light of what has followed. Hindsight would pick out evidences of Shanghai's role in stimulating Chinese nationalism and economic change, in teaching China the lessons of Western business, science, and industry, and in providing a sample of what these lessons might accomplish.

Nineteenth-century Europe was at its best in the pulpit or on the rostrum, especially when talking of its own accomplishments, and Shanghai belonged to it. A jubilee was held in the city on the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the foreign settlements, in 1893, and the major address of the day was delivered in the park on the Bund by the Rev. Muirhead, a British missionary. His words are symptomatic of the West's attitude to the East and of Shanghai's characteristic part in it, and also perhaps enlightening toward an understanding of China's response.

6 INTRODUCTORY

369 177 Shanghai is the centre of our higher civilization and Christian influence for all of China. We are here in the midst of a people proud and prejudiced in favour of their ancient line of things, and what have we introduced amongst them, for their benefit as well as our own? We might well point to the English homes we have formed here. . . How different is this from what we know to be characteristic of Chinese homes? In front also we have these beautiful *hongs* (trading firms) for the transaction of business, and we may especially remark the Supreme Court, distinguished by the just and equitable conduct of legal matters, in striking contrast to what is represented to us as existing in other places. In short, look at the *tout ensemble* of the Settlement — houses and streets lit with gas and electricity, streams of pellucid water flowing in all directions, and sanitary arrangements according to the best medical advice. We have steamers, telegraphs, and telephones in communication with all the world; there are cotton and paper mills and silk filatures of Foreign invention, and last but not least, railways in the north as pioneers of what will yet be found all over China. Law and order are admirably preserved in the midst of 200,000 people at the instance of our own judicial and municipal authorities. . .[2]

369 441 454 177 In the same year, the (British) Commissioner of Customs at Shanghai wrote a trade report for a jubilee volume published by the *Shanghai Mercury* in which he also emphasized the prominence of Shanghai, but in which he expressed rather different views on other matters. The two sets of remarks are interesting to compare when viewed from sixty years later:

> Chinese merchants are inclined more and more each year to make Shanghai an emporium for the trade of north China and to use the northern coast and river ports simply as landing places for such goods as may be necessary to supply the immediate needs of their districts. The largest native mercantile houses in China are all represented here. . . Chinese capital is being largely invested, not only in . . . purely native establishments . . . but also in companies established by foreigners and under foreign directorate . . . at least 40 per cent of the shares of some foreign companies are held by Chinese . . . (as well as) a considerable portion of deposits in local banks. . . Chinese capital is invested in foreign-flagged steamers, and of course a large amount is sunk in the shares of the China Merchants Steam Navigation Company. . . Having said so much, it should not surprise anyone if I express the opinion that probably in future Shanghai will furnish no such favourable opportunities

2: Murphy G-4 (no date) 1953 AF15 East China AF15

for the investment of foreign capital as it has done in the past. . . To sum up, I think the future of Shanghai depends on China and the Chinese and their interests and that foreigners would be wise to run with them.[3]

The Commissioner and the missionary were in effect saying the same thing, although in different ways — that the most important thing about Shanghai was its relation to China; and that the city contained the seeds of great change for the entire country.

While it lasted, foreign Shanghai was an exciting and colorful place which travel folders could not exaggerate. It was for instance justly famous as one of the wickedest cities in the world, and we have the testimony of a duke for that as early as 1869. Following his visit to Shanghai, the Duke of Somerset referred to it in the House of Lords in that year as "a sink of iniquity."[4] His words pained especially the missionary residents of the city, and the Chamber of Commerce considered a formal reply through the foreign secretary, but matters never proceeded beyond the local press. The difficulty was that His Grace was right, and the city's own archives proved it. At the Landrenters' meeting in 1864, Sir Harry Parkes, then British consul at Shanghai, stated that of a total of 10,000 Chinese houses in the International and French Settlements, 668 were brothels, "while opium and gambling houses were beyond counting."[5] Seventy years later in 1934, a local Chinese newspaper estimated that Shanghai led the world's cities in prostitution as a specialty: in London, one person in 960 was a prostitute, in Berlin one in 580, in Paris one in 481, in Chicago one in 430, in Tokyo one in 250, and in Shanghai, one in 130.[6] It was indeed a major commercial enterprise in the city, and the fact that so many people earned their livings thereby stymied all attempts to eradicate or mitigate it. A special commission appointed in 1919 to investigate vice in the city recommended that all brothels be removed in five years, hoping that during that time other means of livelihood might be found. Licenses were issued in 1920 with the understanding that all licenses were to be withdrawn in 1925. But the plan was abandoned before the end of the five-year period as a complete failure. An earlier reform attempt also ended in failure when the first American judge of the United States Court for China arrived in

Shanghai in 1906 and began a crusade especially against American brothels. He became exceedingly unpopular in Shanghai, and finally felt obliged to sue the *Shanghai Gazette* for libel after he had abandoned both his crusade and his post and prepared to return to the United States.[7]

Opium dens in the two foreign settlements remained open long after those in the Chinese city had been officially (i.e., in many cases not actually) closed by imperial decree, and until at least 1935 these establishments flourished publicly. Subsequent regulations merely made them more circumspect. In the French Settlement opium vendors on the streets sold their wares in paper packets with labels giving their names, addresses, and telephone numbers. (Opium establishments were increasingly numerous and open in the Chinese city also after 1911, and into the 1940's). Kidnapping[1] was another important enterprise, and a highly profitable one, since many wealthy Chinese moved into the foreign settlements where their property and persons were more secure but whence they or their children could be spirited over the short distance into Chinese territory and held for ransom. Organized commercial gambling was also a big business, and existed in Shanghai probably on a larger scale than in any other city in the world.[8]

Law enforcement was severely handicapped by the complex but ambiguous legal and administrative situation. Chinese police could not pursue suspects into the foreign settlements, and foreign police were similarly excluded from the Chinese areas. Foreigners in Shanghai lived under extraterritoriality, by which they were governed according to their respective national laws administered by their own consuls, but the law was seldom read to them with the same severity as it would have been at home. For one thing, the consul was often personally involved in business affairs in Shanghai, or was at least a personal friend of the defendant or plaintiff. Petty and grand swindles of all kinds tended to flourish under such conditions. It was easy enough for a foreigner to leave Shanghai if it became necessary, and he seldom had to face legal consequences at home. Chinese residents of the foreign settlements had unprecedented freedom of movement and activity. Foreign legal authority over them was tenuous, Chinese police could not operate in the Settle-

[1] Lin Shanghai -- Analyst

2: Murphy G-4 (no date) 1953 AF15 East China AF15

ments, and extradition was possible only with the approval of the Shanghai Municipal Council (or the French Municipal Council for the French Settlement), which was not often granted. Police expenses accounted for 40 to 50 per cent of the annual budget of the Shanghai Municipal Council from 1855 to 1941, but even this remarkably heavy allotment did not achieve a rule of law and morality.

Shanghai was a place where two civilizations met and where neither prevailed. To the foreigners, it was out of bounds, beyond the knowledge or supervision of their own culture, where each man was a law unto himself, or where he easily adjusted to the prevailing *mores* with no qualms of conscience. Morality was irrelevant or meaningless in Shanghai, an atmosphere which was apparent to even the casual visitor. The fact that Shanghai was also a major port of call and naval station helped to prosper this attitude; sailors often formed a majority of the foreign population.* For the Chinese, Shanghai was equally off limits. Those who had chosen this new kind of life, like the merchants, were by that choice cut off from traditional China and from the sanctions which it imposed. Others who drifted to the city during famines or civil wars, or were kidnapped from the country as domestic servants, had by definition lost their family connections, which in traditional China was total physical and moral destitution. Small wonder that many of them turned to prostitution.

On top of this was the continually fluctuating population. Few people, Chinese or foreign, came to the city with the hope of remaining there long; most of them aimed to make a fortune in a few years and then to leave. Many of them did remain, but so did the frenzied atmosphere. The international, intercultural nature of the city added to its excitement. Foreign hotels found it necessary to advertise their ability to speak with patrons in English, French, German, and Russian as a minimum. Concerned missionaries and visiting judges contended with this tempting and stimulating situation in vain. It remained for the Communist administration of the city after 1949 to substitute their familiar order of austerity and

* The city gave its name to the practice of kidnapping men to work ships whose crews had found Shanghai's attractions too great. Both foreigners and Chinese were "Shanghaied" by roving gangs, often in search of coolie labor for East or West Indian plantations as well as of crews.

2: Murphy G-4 (no date) 1953 AF15 East China AF15

morality for the laxity and easy virtue which some Shanghai residents thought would prove a match even for the Peoples' Government.*

Another element which made life in Shanghai exciting, lawless, and profitable for the foreigners was the periodic flooding of the city by refugees from civil disorder in China. Shanghai was a tiny island of relative security at such times, where the presence of foreign consuls and troops and the quasi-independent status of the foreign settlements attracted large numbers of Chinese within its borders. The first great influx occurred at the time of the Taiping Rebellion (1850–1864), during which a local uprising of the Triad Society in 1853 and 1854 connected with the Rebellion virtually surrounded Shanghai, and even penetrated the Settlement until the troops were expelled by the foreigners. There were about 500 Chinese residents of the foreign settlements in 1852, 20,000 in 1854, and 500,000 in 1864.[9] Fortunes were made and lost in real estate and general speculation as the tide of refugees flowed and ebbed in response to the progress of hostilities in the Yangtze delta. Chinese capital from the hinterland also gravitated to the protection of the foreign settlements and added more fuel to the speculative blaze.

> Legitimate (sic) business of all kinds received a great stimulus upon the expulsion of the Triads from the city, and a period of feverish and well-nigh fatal speculation set in. The price of land inside the Settlement and even without went up to an enormous pitch as thousands of wealthy Chinese from all sides flocked into the place for the security it offered. . . Great tracts of land were hastily built over with cheap shanties by the foreign speculators, who reaped a golden harvest. . .[10]

Land within the Settlements which sold for an average of £50 an acre in 1852 sold for an average of £10,000 in 1862. In 1862, for the first time since it had been built, the race course, pride of the Settlement, was idle. The foreigners were too busy to hold the races, and in the next year the race course was sold for tenement construction for twenty times its original price.† [11]

* The *China Monthly Review* records in its issue for January 1952 (p. 96) that at the time of the Communist take-over in May 1949 there were 800 brothels in Shanghai, which by November 1951 had been reduced to 71. In the latter month these were closed, and the 500 inmates sent to a special reorientation and training school, in accordance with the pattern established earlier in north China.

† Part of the proceeds was used to buy a new tract for a race course farther out

2: Murphy G-4 (no date) 1953 AF15 East China AF15

This pattern was repeated in most of its details whenever trouble threatened in China, as it did for example in 1884–85 (war between France and China), 1900 (the Boxer Uprising), 1911 (the republican revolution), 1915–18 (the first world war and Japanese intervention in Shantung), 1926–27 (the northern campaign of the Kuomintang), 1932 (Japanese attack on Shanghai), and most of the period of anti-Japanese and civil war from 1937 to 1949. It of course affected the economic life of the city in fundamental fashion, and understandably speculation flourished. It also meant that the foreigners lived in a state of some uncertainty and insecurity, since what brought the city prosperity could also destroy it. A foreign resident complained about this in a letter to the editor of the *North China Daily News* (published in Shanghai) which was printed the day before the Japanese attack on Shanghai in 1937, in a sense the last day of foreign Shanghai's existence:

> Since I arrived in Shanghai some seventeen years ago I have been under arms as a member of the Volunteer Corps on a dozen different occasions in defense of the Settlement. Always these occasions have meant a cessation of business, a period of anxiety and possible danger, and no benefit to us as a community. 'Old stagers' of the mud-flat days will smile when one talks to them on the subject and say they have got used to the idea, but are we content to see this sort of thing continue indefinitely? We should organize ourselves as a community . . . that will enable us to have a more normal life. It is time the old idea that foreigners come to Shanghai for a few years and then go away with a fortune was abandoned. This is a place of permanent residence for most of us and we have a right to demand that same freedom and security which is the common possession of all civilized countries. . .[12]

The city's population, swollen periodically with refugees, was also an excellent source of cheap labor and an opportunity, or invitation, for labor abuses, especially after manufacturing became an important factor in the Shanghai economy during the twentieth century. The refugees had no bargaining power and lived in universal privation. Their presence in the labor force helped to account for the fact that factory conditions, wages and hours, and industrial

---

from the center of town. The present Communist administration has turned the race course, symbol of the foreign occupation, into its chief parade ground.

2: Murphy G-4 (no date) 1953 AF1⁵ East China AF15

000
369
511
764
369
744
369

slums were as acutely bad in Shanghai as anywhere else in the world. Living standards among the Chinese were correspondingly low. A British visitor to Shanghai in 1843, one month after the founding of the foreign settlements, gave as his opinion in an account of the city that "in no other country in the world is there less real misery and want than in China."[13] This may be taken as a reflection of the state of Europe in 1843, and as a measure of what the second half of the nineteenth century, beginning with the Taiping Rebellion, did to China, but it also shows what happened in Shanghai (as it had happened in eighteenth-century England) when the industrial revolution came to a peasant society. Factory conditions and slum housing were bad, but scarcely worse than the condition of perpetual refugees who had neither factory nor slum to go to. In 1935, a comparatively peaceful year in China, the Shanghai Municipal Council collected 5,590 exposed corpses from the streets of the International Settlement alone. In 1937 the figure reached 20,746.[14]

An effective public health program under such conditions was impossible, and foreign residents lived in constant fear of epidemics. Cholera, smallpox, typhoid, dysentery and plague recurred periodically, and cases could not be restricted to the Chinese. The Council's attempts to improve the public health situation were also hampered by foreign and Chinese property owners. A code of public health laws was submitted to the Ratepayers' Association as early as 1903, but was voted down by "those with vested interests."[15] Later attempts met with similar obstruction, and nothing was ever done on the scale called for. Money dominated Shanghai, and everything gave place to it.

Even by 1941, however, it was still possible to walk from the center of the Bund to the unchanged agricultural countryside in three or four hours. It was less than ten miles, and the rice paddies and peasant villages could be seen clearly from any of the city's tall buildings. This was one of the sharpest and most dramatic boundaries in the world. Traditional China continued unbroken almost to the limits of the foreign settlements. It was hard to see there any sign of Shanghai's influence. The final proof of that influence came with the entry of the Communist armies into Shanghai in 1949.